

INTRODUCTION

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of Hindu traders from South India. After the introduction of Buddhism into South India by Asoka in 261 B.C., the traders began to bring Buddhist elements to Thaton. With the establishment in the third or fourth century after Christ of the Hindu kingdoms in Java and Sumatra, Thaton became an important trading centre, and with the rise of a great Buddhist centre at Conjeeveram in Madras in the fifth century, the Talaings began to receive religious writings in Pali. From that time onwards, learning was definitely established in the kingdom, and, as a result, a Talaing literature came into being. Anawrahta was interested in Pali only, and therefore when he destroyed the city, he burnt all the manuscripts except those in Pali.¹

The writing and learning that were thus introduced into Pagan took root at once. Prose and poetry as embodied in the language of the court and in songs had been in existence long before, though unwritten, and now the new learning turned them into written forms and began to develop them. Pali was studied everywhere, and in the newly-built temples with their crowded monastic life, works in Pali on religion, on Pali grammar and prosody, and on the legal code of Manu came to be produced.² Translations were also made, and soon Pagan became famous throughout India for its Pali scholarship. But

¹ The Burmese language belongs to the Tibeto-Burmese group, whereas the Talaing belongs to the Mon-Khmar group. In spite of Anawrahta's conquest and in spite of the fact that racially they were cousins, the Talaings became completely merged with the Burmese only in the eighteenth century. The probability of the Sanskrit drama reaching the Talaings is considered in chap. ii.

² G. E. Harvey, op. cit., pp. 59, 70.

The most famous for literary activity was the *Kyauku Ohnmin* temple. Though built perhaps even before Anawrahta, when a corrupted form of Buddhism was prevalent, it is still in an excellent condition (Harvey, p. 17).

The code of Manu was compiled originally in Sanskrit, during the period 200 B.C.-A.D. 200. Since that time it has been one of the chief sources of Hindu law (J. D. Mayne, *Hindu Law*). The Burmese received it in a Talaing-Pali version in which the sacerdotal element had been done away with. That explains why, although Manu is one of the chief sources also of Burmese Buddhist law, it has little in common with Hindu law. The existence of the code as the chief source of Talaing law (Harvey, op. cit., p. 111) raises again the question, how far were the Talaing writings under the influence of Sanskrit and its literature? We shall never know. When Anawrahta destroyed Talaing institutions and historical and literary works, he intended that all knowledge of the past greatness of the Talaings should pass into oblivion so as to smooth his way towards unifying Burma into one single State.

Pali has been, since 1044, the classical language of Burma.

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9. Burmese and the Lolo Languages

101 Burmese and the Lolo languages of southwestern China,
197 northern Tonkin and Siam, and the Shan States, constitute
one of the largest single blocs in the Tibeto-Burman
family (Burmish-Loloish). The center of dispersion for
this group seems to have been southwestern China, whence
have proceeded successive waves of migration to the south
and east. The trail of the Burmese southward down the
Irrawaddy valley is today marked by a series of tribes of
Burmese stock, viz. Maru, Lashi, Atai, Achang, Hpôn. The
Lolo movements southward and eastward have continued down
to the present time, even in the face of strongly entrenched
Thai populations. The process has been one of infiltration
rather than of displacement, since these immigrant Lolo
groups almost invariably constitute a depressed economic
class under the control of their Chinese or Thai neighbors.

197 Burmese is a literary language of some antiquity (its
inscriptions extend back to the 11th century), and hence is
of great value in comparative Tibeto-Burman studies. The
written forms, especially those in the inscriptions, contain
many archaic features not found in Tibetan, but the modern
spoken language has undergone extensive phonetic modification.
The non-standard dialects, viz. Arakanese, Taungyo, Intha,
Danu, and Tavoyan, in general tend to retain older forms.
Hpôn is transitional to the Maru group (supra), while the
latter is again transitional to the Lolo languages. The

197 latter may conveniently be divided into a Southern Lolo division (Phumoi, Akha, Lahu, Woni, Black and White Lolo) and a Northern Lolo division (Lisu, Ahi, Nyl, Lolopho). The so-called "Independent Lolo" tribes of western Szechuan are linguistically akin to the latter, to judge from what little we know of their speech. The Moso (Nakhi) language of western Yunnan, which is likewise only imperfectly known, must be reckoned an independent unit of Burmish-Loloish.

Our discussion falls naturally under the four headings indicated above, viz. Burmese and its dialects, the Meru group, Southern Lolo, and Northern Lolo. Our sources are in general of mediocre quality, but for Burmese itself we are in a somewhat better position. The standard dictionary by Judson (1911 edition) gives a large number of carefully defined terms, and these can be checked against the convenient tables in Brown (pp. 119-20). Variant spellings and forms are given in other works, e.g. that of Bennett, but Judson's dictionary is the locus classicus. The forms cited below are those of the written language, in the orthography developed by the writer after a detailed study of the Burmese group (Judson does not transliterate the originals in Burmese script, and Brown gives only the modern spoken forms, which would be misleading in the present study). The principal sources for the dialects of Burmese are Taylor, the LSI (by Taylor), Scott, Houghton, Konow, and Tin.

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The linguistic bridge between Burmese and the Lolo languages is supplied by the Maru group of languages, spoken in the upper Irrawaddy valley. The Maru proper are found in the Nyithyina and Bhamo districts of Upper Burma, their true home being the valley and watershed of the Kmai Kha, or eastern tributary of the Irrawaddy (south of the Heng), while the closely affiliated Lashi and Aisi are found scattered all along the Burma-China frontier. Hpôn is transitional between Burmese and Maru, to judge from what little we know of its two dialects (Megyaw and Samong), spoken by nearly extinct groups living in the defile of the Irrawaddy between Bhamo and Nyithyina. A few kinship terms are cited in our Hpôn sources (Scott, Davies, LSI).

Noteworthy are Megyaw *ma-mo* oB, Samong *a-mo-ku*; Megyaw *pi-pi* oB, Samong *a-pi-ku*; Megyaw *a-sa* Ch, *mi-sa* D, *i-sa* yB; and Megyaw *a-yi* ~ *a-ye* H (Samong *a-mi*).

Maru, Lashi, and Aisi are closely related languages or perhaps dialects of a single language. All three have been heavily influenced by Kachin, with whom they are often mistakenly grouped (as in Hanson). In Aisi this influence has been felt much more strongly, and hence the Aisi terminology is best examined apart from the Maru-Lashi system. Our material on the Maru group, which includes two dictionaries of Maru (Clark, Abbey), some word-lists in the works of Scott and Davies, and tables of terms in the census report

Burmese
MAYU

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197 by Webb, is relatively complete, but the recording is so poor that linguistic analysis is difficult (the tables in Webb fairly bristle with misprints and other mistakes). The Burmese terms are tabulated below, while Lashi differences are treated in the notes.

Burmese Conventional Terms

(a-)p'yit gH	(a-)p'uk g'
(a-)ul H	(a-)p'o F
no MoSi, FoSV	p'a-mo FoS, MoSiH
t'ang KySi	p'a-lot PyS, KySiH
na FSi	nyi H
yal oSi, pC	wang oS, pC
nam ySh, pC	wang yS(w)
uk FSiD(m)	k'am FSiS, HES
nyi HED(m)	
so Ch	
tan H	
nyit gCh	

Burmese Affixal Terms

na VL, H	nyi w'
uk H	wang H, FSiH
yal WoSi, oSV(w), HES	wang oSiH(w), KyS, WoSiH
nam yShl	
yah-mo HSi	k'am Si(m)
tan-mo Si	uk Si

Atsi
Lahu

601 conclusions can be drawn, despite the categorical equations in their kinship terminology.

Achang (Hotha Shan, Hsingtha Shan), spoken in the Mōng Hsa valley of the Southern Shan States, is a fourth language of Maru type. A few of its kinship terms have been recorded by Davies, Anderson, and Taylor (in the LSI). Achang is unusual in having preserved the Burmese root *ni ysb*, in the terms *a-nyi yB*, *a-nyi a-nyo yo ySi* (cf. *i-nyo* "woman, wife"). *Be oSi* (Davies, in Scott) belongs with *Lashi pe*, *Maru pai*, and *a-mong B* (Anderson) with either **mang* or **mong*. In contrast to the languages just examined, no Kachin loan-words appear in Achang, spoken south of the Kachin area. Some Shan loan-words may occur, however; note especially *tsai oB*, Shan *pi-sai*; *san-ks oSi*, Shan *s'au* "young unmarried woman".

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[101] The Southern Lolo languages, spoken in the Southern Shan States, Laos, and Tonkin, are phonetically intermediate between Burmese-Maru and the Northern Lolo languages of southwestern China. The best preserved of these languages are Phunoi, in the French Laos, and the closely related Pyen, in Kengtung State, but our knowledge of the kinship terms of these languages is incomplete (Phunoi has been recorded only by Roux, and Pyen only by Stirling, in Scott). Akha (Kax), which is spoken in the 5th Military District of the Laos and in Kengtung, has been recorded by Roux, Antidel,

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601 Stirling (in Scott), and Taylor (in the LSI), while Stirling has also given us a record of Akö, a dialect of Akha. Lahu, another language of Kengtung State, has been described by Stirling, Davies, Antiedel, and Taylor (in the LSI). Both Akha and Lahu have been phonetically altered to such a degree that analysis is difficult, especially with the meagre material at our disposal. A list of Lahu kinship terms appears in the census report by Webb (p. lxiii), in the columns headed 'Myen' and 'Munso' (Shan terms for the Lahu), but this material cannot be trusted. The writer has not been able to make use of the recently published Lahu grammar and dictionary by J. H. Telford, but has had the opportunity of discussing Lahu with the author (Harvard, March 17, 1941) and has thus been led to be skeptical of the terms cited in Webb. A group of four Southern Lolo languages spoken in the canton of Tüông-yên, Haut-Tonkin, have been recorded by Bonifacy, who has added a few ethnographic notes on these tribes (Black Lolo, Mân Khơnh, White Lolo, and Mông). Still other Southern Lolo languages, such as the Woni of southern China, are too little known to merit consideration.

601 Of the material mentioned above, only that relating to Lahu approaches completeness. We have indicated, however, that the Lahu data are not reliable, and we have hence refrained from tabulating the Lahu terms. Our remarks must of necessity, therefore, be confined to more general observations.

The Southern Lolo kinship terminologies are on the whole of Burmese type and many of the Burmese-Maru roots are represented, as shown by the following list:

Lahu

Lisu

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601 a two-day visit, and the bride returns again alone and remains with her parents until she becomes pregnant (Lunet de Lajonguiere, pp. 322 and sq.). This practice is also found among the Tai peoples of Tonkin (ibid.), from whom it may have been borrowed, yet it can well be interpreted along the lines suggested above. Writing of the same Lolo groups, Bonifacy observes that a man may earn his wife by working for his father-in-law and taking the family name (*44* *tinh*) of the latter, or that he may obtain his wife without changing his name, and without paying for her, by supporting his aged parents-in-law.

- 197 [101] The Northern Lolo languages fall into several large groups, viz. Lisu, a central bloc (Ahi, Nyl, Lolopho), a southeastern bloc (Choko, Phupha), an eastern bloc (Ulu, Naso), and the Independent Lolo dialects of Szechuan. Of the above languages, Lisu, Ahi, and Nyl are fairly well known and Lolopho is somewhat less fully known, while the remaining languages have been recorded only in fragments. The general linguistic picture, however, is much clearer than in the case of the Southern Lolo languages, e.g. tonal equations have been worked out for Lisu, Ahi, and Nyl (in relation to Burmese). The bulk of the literature on the Lolo is entirely disproportionate to its value, largely because of the failure to recognize the thoroughgoing Burmese affiliations of these peoples. Much of it is

197 occupied with the futile question of the etymology of the name "Lo-lo", and with (largely) sterile discussions of Chinese sources. The most valuable of a number of articles of this type is the scholarly contribution by Feng and Shryock (cited *infra*).

One of the most useful criteria in distinguishing among these languages is found in the treatment of final -a, which is ordinarily retained in Lisu, Nyl, and Phupha, is shifted to -o in Ahi, Lolopha, and Chöko (somewhat irregularly here), to -u in the Ulu-Mash dialects, and is retained or shifted to -ü, -ö in the Independent Lolo group. These correspondences are illustrated by the following table:

	<u>Lisu</u>	<u>Nyl</u>	<u>Phupha</u>	<u>Ahi</u>	<u>Lolopha</u>	<u>Chöko</u>	<u>Ulu</u>	<u>Ind. Lolo</u>
eat	da	da	da	da	da	o	du	da
salt	ts'a	ts'a	-	ts'o	ts'o	-	ts'u	ts
five	nga	nga	nga	ngo	ngo	ngo	ngu	ngu

This criterion is not absolute, e.g. the Lisu dialect recorded in Clarke (Appendix II) has -o rather than -a, but is useful as a rule-of-thumb procedure.

601 In the present discussion the Lisu terminology will be analyzed first, followed by the Ahi-Nyl-Lolopha terminology and annotations on the remaining groups. The Lisu (Lisaw) [101] are primarily a Salween valley people, but have colonised extensively throughout most of Yunnan and have penetrated into northern Szechwan and the Shan State. The primary sources are the works of Fraser and Ross and Brown, but a number of

Lisu
Moso

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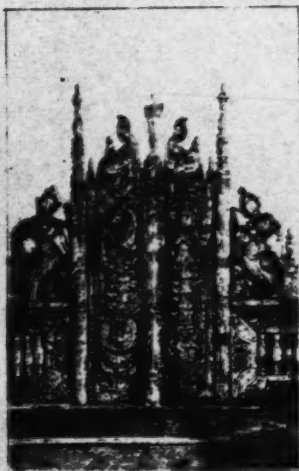
There remains for consideration only the language of the Moso (Makhi) of western Yunnan, which differs rather widely from the Northern Lolo languages just discussed. Only a few Moso terms, all badly recorded, are known; these have been taken from the works of Bacot, Rock, and Madrolle (by Monbeig) (note that in Madrolle the Moso and Kutsong = Tibetan lists have been accidentally reversed on pp. 564-65). The following terms are of Lolo type: a-ba F; a-m̄ ~ m̄ (also mi "female", in Rock); a-p'u gF (but a-ts̄ gH); a-bu oB (Nyi a-pu); so B, mi ~ mi-so D (also su Ch, in Bacot). Note Moso a-p'u gF, a-bu oB, but Nyi a-bu gF, a-pu oB. The Bb terms are generally distinct from those in Lolo; Madrolle cites gō-zō yB, me-me oSi, ku-me ySi. Of primary importance, however, is the term a-gu B1 (Bacot), cognate with Ahi kō-pu-li ySiH, Akha a-kō B, and Burmese ats-kui oB; cf. Moso gu "9", Burmese kui³; Moso k'u "to steal", Burmese k'ui³; Moso hgu "to weep", Burmese ngu1.

Despite the extent of literature on the Lolo, almost no material bearing on our problem can be found. Ahi and Nyi, which linguistically are fairly well known, are ethnographic blanks. Cross-cousin marriage can be established only for the Lisu, and even here the source is linguistic (Fraser) rather than ethnographic (Rose and Brown). Fraser's remarks in this connection are worth quoting in extenso, since the work is rare:

Sometimes an exchange will be made between two families, a man giving his daughter to another's son in exchange for the latter's daughter for his own son; this arrangement

INTRODUCTORY

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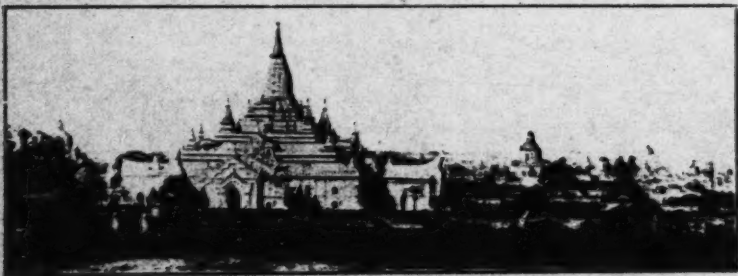


7. ANCIENT GATE, WITH FIGURES OF THADYA-MIN AND KEINNAYA.

is part of India. The phrase *Indo-China* is also misleading unless in respect of geography. In respect of climate, flora and fauna, *Further India* is not inapplicable. A probable Indo-Aryan admixture exists in the north-east (Arakán). But Burma Proper and Pegu are as distinct from India as Tibet itself.

The original Burman tribes are conjectured to have pushed their way south from the mountains of Tibet. They divided into three principal branches, Arakán (*Rakáing, Yakaing*) on the west, Paung on the east, and Burma (*Bamá*), which attained to the chief position, in the middle, on the northern Irawadi (*E-ya wadi*). Nothing is known of the early history of these nations. But it is certain that in 1000 A.D. Burma was a large and powerful kingdom, with its seat at Pagán. About that time the first historical conquest of the lower Irawadi was

effected. From the fact that the country was not permanently subdued it may be inferred that the power of the Mun or Peguan race (later called Taláing) was not greatly inferior to that of the Burman. The Muns, from the affinities of their language, are conjectured to be of Annamitic origin. There is mention of the Pagán kingdom independently of the Burman chronicles, and there is above all the evidence of the ruins of Pagán, probably the mightiest of their kind. They testify to the power of the kingdom and the influence of the



8. ANANDA PAYA PAGAN.